

66 *Polit. Pamphlet vol 122.*
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THE
BRITISH SLEEPERS;

OR, THE
SONS of BRITANNIA
SLEEPING,

While She, in a Discourse in three Parts, laments the
Ruin which, without a Change in their Conduct,
must be inevitable; provides against the Evils, to
which their unthinking Fathers consented in the last
Century; and sends her Tears, as the Messengers of
her Grief, to melt them into a Concern for them-
selves, that *France* may not spread her Triumphs as
Monuments of their Disgrace, -that will be more
lasting than Monuments made of *Brass*, or *Marble*.

*If none but the Prosperous can lose by Alterations, no
Change can be but what may afford some Advantage to us.*

BALZAC.

PART II.

L O N D O N:

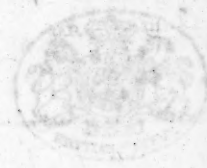
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BRITISH MUSEUM

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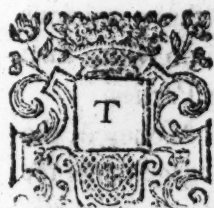
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T H E
BRITISH SLEEPERS, &c.

S I R,



THE Remainder of my Discourse upon the Natural Interest of our Country attends you, with the Desire of its Author, that it may afford you a pleasing Entertainment upon the Subjects which fill'd the Evening we devoted to them in the *Pal-mal*; and, if my Thoughts swell beyond your Expectation, I hope you will allow for a Fulness in the Heart to which the Interest of our Country is never absent, and whose Service is a Subject in its daily Meditations.

YOUR Thoughts, being unreservedly *English*, fix you in that noble Turn of Mind which looks with Disdain upon Corruption, and rising above the Temptations a *Treasury* affords, it baffles the Influence of him that may have the conducting it; and, knowing your Words are the faithful Interpreters of your Thoughts, mine flow to you with the greater Freedom.

dom, conceiving you cannot be offended by Things spoken as an *Englishman* should speak.

Y O U R Reflections upon our Necessity for a Peace, are so well proportion'd to the common Interest of our Country, that if it was generally so well understood as you understand it, our Thoughts would retire from the Exotic Interests Nature forbids our mixing with, that our Minds may be abstractedly employ'd in the Things that concern ourselves.

I N Duty to ourselves, we should separate our Interest from the Mixture it is under, to anticipate our Necessity for it by an approaching Indigence, and leave the Powers upon the *Continent* to the deciding their own *Quarrels*, while some Things remain to us that deserve our Care, and withdraw from the pernicious Engagements we should have no more to do with, than those that never heard of the contending Parties.

O U R Disgrace, Waste of Men and Money in the *Netherlands*, are a Postscript to our engagements for the House of *Austria*, which, by want of *Shipping*, cannot be of use to us in the military Way, and by Defect of Money, can never pay any of the Damages it has involv'd us in; nor would any of the Advantages (if any had been made by our Arms) have center'd in us, tho' the Expence is ours. But,

A s Things show their whole Worth, when the whole Necessity for them is felt, the Money drawn like Blood from the Veins of our People, will appear to be the Time, Strength, Toil, and Tears of those that acquir'd, and had fix'd their Hope in it for future Ease; for Penury will be consequential to the Profusion our Engagements

Engagements upon the *Continent* have made of the People's Money.

IN the War of King *William*, the Seed of our present Miseries was sown, and it was our Leader into Distresses that have reduced us to a Necessity for Peace, at almost any Rate, to distance the Evil Day, for the making a better Prospect. But,

As our Peace is to be made with a Prince, who has so humbled our *Allies*, that no one of them can be of any Use to us in a Treaty for it, nor the whole together, cast any Aw upon the Power we are to treat with, we may be oblig'd to accept of a Peace upon such Terms as that Prince shall appoint; for all that is left to our Choice, is in the Question, Whether we will be ruin'd by a *War*, or by a *Peace* that may be as fatal to us in its Consequences, tho' fill'd with a flattering Hope that is not to be found in a War that may lead to the speedier End?

NONE being so unhappy as those that are ignorant of their own Unhappiness, nor any in greater Danger than those who persist in their Mistakes till they are past recalling, a Scene now opens, but as much out of Season as Repentance would be in the Grave; for now we see, by Necessity, that the forked Evil comes out of our Engagements for the House of *Austria*, with which we were first entangled by our Engagements in the War of King *William*. But,

THIS View of our own Unhappiness comes too late for our Redemption, for our Riches are exhausted, and are as *Water* spilt upon the Ground that cannot be gather'd

gather'd up again ; our Trade is departed, divided, and run into Hands that will not allow of its return to us ; and we have given a Power to *France* which we cannot recall, but must suffer under the Use that will be made of it against us, in treating for a Peace, or in the Continuance of a *Land-War*, for we have made her, either Way, awful to us. Yet,

By Retrospection we may receive some Cautions that may not be altogether Useless ; for, by it, it will appear that the House of *Austria* was as oppressive to us in the highest Success of a *War*, as in the Defeats we receiv'd in Battle for its Sake : And if this may seem a Paradox, I recommend to your Enquiry, a Reflection upon the Means by which our National Debt was made, and there you will find the seeming Paradox reconcil'd. For,

WE were always beaten in the *War* of King *William*, and always victorious in that of Queen *Anne* ; but each Victory made as great an Article in our Account of Debt, and Misfortune, as any of the Defeats that had gone before it ; and if the present War had favour'd our Armies with Victory, it might have lull'd us to the Waste of our last Shilling : For it is almost sixty Years, that we have maintain'd the Humour of offering our own Interests, in *Lands*, *Money*, and *Trade*, as one continued Sacrifice to the Necessities of the House of *Austria* ; and one remarkable Victory would have fix'd the Folly, till the Stings of the extremest Poverty should show the Mistake. For,

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WE had no greater Reason for engaging in the Disorders of the *Continent*, than the remotest of the Chiefs in *America*; and the ridiculous Profusion of our Riches in its Disputes, must appear to the rest of Mankind, like a Quarrel between us and our *Money* that oblig'd us to transport it, as we transport *Felons* to prevent the Mischiefs they might do to our Country by continuing in its own keeping.

IF the Money the *Netherlands* have cost us, could be counted against their Acres of *Land*, its Amount would be to no less than five Pounds to an Acre, tho' the whole has not return'd us the Worth of *one Basket of Apples*; but this Expedient for removing the Weight of our *Riches*, proves, that if an *Archimedes* had not been of the Council in those Days, we must have groan'd under the Weight of them, and their Increase in our *Commerce*, to this Hour.

IF an Account by Way of Debtor and Creditor, could be truly stated between us and the House of *Austria*, nothing could be brought into it, in balance to our Charge of Loss, in *Money, Trade, Blood, and Reputation*, but *Cyphers*, without any one Figure before them, in proof of any Value receiv'd by us in any one Thing done by that Illustrious House.

A Farmer sowing *Wheat* and *Rie* together, for the Produce of three Pecks of *Wheat* to one of *Rie*, when *Wheat* was at four Shillings a Bushel, and the *Mixture* at three, I told him, that as the three Pecks of *Wheat* would bring the same Money without the *Rie*, he had nothing but its Straw for the Ground it grew on, its Seed, and the

the many Parts of Labour that made it marketable. The Man starting, like one from a profound Sleep, said, What a Fortune has been given away in the forty Years my Father rented this Estate, and the twenty since I succeeded him in it !

SHOULD our Surprise be less, in seeing nothing but the Ruin of our *Golden Fleece* ; the Loss of other Branches in our Trade, others neglected, a Decay upon the Whole : A mountain of Debt insulting us, as Mount *Atlas* insults its neighbouring Hills ; and *Cripples* to maintain for our Expence of *Blood and Treasure*, in *Wars* that allow us no Share in the Advantages that were made by our own Arms ?

WHAT a distorted Figure the Account will make in our own History, that must be given for the Blood of our People, who had no Call by Nature, or a true Policy, to that Bed of False Honour on which they died ; and the Weight entailed upon the Generations in Succession upon no other Equivalent, than is in the Brilliant of the *Bear-Garden*, where Wounds, Bruises, and Death, are the Glory of the dying Combatant : But it may be the Hope of some profound Politicians, that what our Historians will say of their Wisdom, may be taken for a Romance ? For,

THE Glory of our Arms upon the *Continent* may be brought in parallel with that which *Cervantes* ascribed to the Arms of his *Quixot*, in his Solemnity, Hazard, and sage Engagement with a *Windmill* ; for a vain and frivolous Ostentation upon the Wonders that were wrought by our Arms, for our own undoing, is a scandalous

dalous Equivalent for the solid Treasure that was acquired by Hardships, which made it the metaphorical Blood of the People.

IN the Poverty of his Knights *Rosenante*, and his fall by the Want of Strength to recover his Trip against a *Mole-hill*, *Cervantes* draws a beautiful Picture of the Profits we made in fighting other Mens Battles at our own Expence, as if our Money could not be so well employed as in the making us Parties in the Quarrels of others. But,

IT remains, to our Honour, that our Bravery has not been inferior to that of the Knight, who never refused Battle to the most formidable *Winmills*, or *Flocks* of *Sheep* that could provoke his Sword ; but it may be our Unhappiness to see our Mistakes ridiculed by those that have the Benefit of 'em : For, when a weak Man and his Money are parted, none has his Folly in greater Derision, than those in whose Service he consumed it.

IF our Money had been confined to the Employment it ought to have had in our *Commerce*, our Thoughts would have fixed in the Interest of our own Country, which is still improveable, though there is not Strength enough in all the Words the World makes Use of, to shew how much it suffered by that Appearance our Arms made, in Obedience to the House of *Austria*, in our late Wars.

IT was the Remark of an Author, that the King of *Sweden* fought for the *heroic Character*, at the Expence of the Blood and Treasure of his People, to gratify his own Ambition ; when the *Czar* of *Muscovy* made the Interest of his People the sole Object of his military

Actions, that every one of them might have a Benefit in his Undertakings : And, if that Spirit had influenced our Leaders into the late *Wars*, we should have had no Share in them. But,

By the Advice the grand Pensionary of *Holland* gave to King *William*, a *national Debt* was to be created, and nothing but a *War* could furnish a Pretext for it ; and, as the greater Debt would make the greater Security for that Prince's Possession of the Throne, it was augmented by all the Ways possible, and all the Schemes that were offered for its Payment were rejected : And, if we trace our present Misfortunes to their Origin, they will all meet in that very Point of Time, Policy, and Action.

SURROUNDED by the *Seas*, and having nothing to acquire, or defend upon the *Continent*, it cannot be our Prudence to mix with any of its Interests. By that which affects any of its Powers, all may be affected, in some Degree, of Loss or Gain ; but our Separation creates a separate Interest that must be maintained by Politicks proportioned to it ; and, as our Interest is un-mixedly *Naval*, our Occasion for *Heroes* in *Land-Service*, is the same as the Cantons of *Switzerland* have for *Commanders at Sea*.

THIS makes one *Sailor* more beneficial to our Country than the greatest Army for Land-Service : For the *Sailor* labours to make every Man the better for him ; but the Army is a Drain upon our Treasure, like the Hand of the *Milk-maid* upon the *Cow's Udder*, which returns nothing for what she is every Day taking from it : And it may deserve our Notice, that, our *Sailors* spend their

Wages

Wages at Home, but our *Soldiers* spend their Pay Abroad, from whence no Part of it returns to us again.

THIS, in respect to us, turns the Enterprizes of our *Land-Armies* into as great a Ridicule as *Cervantes* bestowed upon the Conduct of his *Quixot*: For the History of their great Exploits, and the Mischiefs they brought upon their Country, will be as lasting a Memorial of our Wisdom, as the Burlesque of that extensive Wit may be of that romantic Spirit which prevailed in the *Errantry* of the Kingdom of *Spain*, for the Redemption of captiv'd *Virgins*.

Our Fathers conquered *France*, at a great Expence to themselves, and without Profit to their Posterity; and, if they had maintained their Conquest, that Kingdom would have been the Seat of our Empire: *England* would have been a Province to it, and must have parted with its *Trade* and *Treasure*, to aggrandize the Imperial Seat, by making it the Centre of *Riches* and *Magnificence*, and to bind our Obedience by a Poverty that would have anticipated a Revolt. And,

IN the present Time, Conquest either Way would be the same to us: For, if the *French* were to conquer us, or we to conquer them, this Kingdom would become a Province to that, and the conquering them would be no better to us than that of being conquered by them.

As that which is sometimes Necessary to the Powers upon the *Continent* would be *Knight Errantry* in us, that Conquest would have been the Subject of as much Ridicule as fell from the Pen of *Butler* upon the great Adventures of the principal Figure in his *Hudibras*, if

our Fathers had enjoyed the Union we are in with *Scotland*. But,

THE Confederacy between that Kingdom and *France* brought a frequent Necessity upon them for a *Land-War*, which ceas'd in the Union of our two Crowns. Under that Necessity our Fathers fought for themselves ; and not to cross the Course of human Understanding, and the Politics by which the Rest of the World has been always conducted, by fighting the Battles of others at their own Expence of Blood and Money.

THE *Spider* spins out its own Bowels, but it is for its own Use, as the labouring Man spins out his Time and Strength for the Bread he cannot subsist without ; and that poor little Animal might have afforded as useful an Instruction to the Councils that sat to deliberate upon our late Wars, as might be given to the slothful Man by the *Pismire*, to which *Solomon* sent him for it.

Tho' our Troops were victorious in the War of Queen *Anne*, each Victory was our Leader into future Campaigns, when the Debt created by the War of King *William* should have made it our Prudence, to leave the Quarrels upon the *Continent* to their Decision who were interested in them ; for the *Millions* it would have saved would have turned to better Account, than a frivolous Ostentation upon the Bravery of our Troops.

IN that War, I observed a Singularity in the Lamentations of an old Gentleman for the universal Joy each Victory produced, which he accounted for in this Manner ; *We are fighting, said he, against ourselves, and destroying more in Bell-ropes than we shall get by the Successes of our Arms. The Money we are exhausting will re-*
turn

turn to us no more, and the Debt it will accumulate will swell till we shall not be able to pay the Interest of it ; and the Joy of the People is as if they were intoxicated with the Juice of that Herb which was said to make Men die laughing.

I heard him say, *Each Victory was a Defeat to the Trade and Treasure of our Kingdom ; that our Thanksgivings were for our greatest Misfortunes, and made the Almighty a Party in our Mistakes : That the sinking our Money in other Nations must impoverish our own ; and that our Taxes upon Labour were running into a Perpetuity that would shut us out of all the foreign Markets.* But in this he had *Cassandra's Fate*, who always foretold the Truth, but never was believed ; because it was not proportioned to the Humour of the Country she liv'd in.

After our Waste of many Millions in favour of the Duke of *Austria's* Pretensions to the Crown of *Spain*, and the Conquest of the *Netherlands*, the Shops of the Country which was conquered at our Expence, and which, till then, had been full of the *Woolen Goods* manufactured in *England*, filled with those of *France* ; the vast Trade we enjoyed to those Provinces fell into her Hands, and the Profits she made in it are used against us, and have reduced them to her own Obedience ; and our Expence of Blood, and Treasure, turns to the Increase of that Power we used it against.

By the Emperor, for whom so much had been done by us, an *East-India Company* was erected in *Ostend*, and its Dissolution, which we thought to have obtained, was no more than a Removal from thence to *Sweden* ;
and

and the *Commerce* of our *Company* is abated by it in the greater Part of the Value that *Trades* for, and the Improvements it may make in the *Trade* will be a Loss to our's in Proportion to them.

By this Species in our Providence for ^{our} own Destruction, we made Barriers for the *Dutch*, and answered to every Whistle, like *the Boy in the Hunt*, when he is called to whip in the Dogs; and our Loans, and Subsidies, have proceeded, as if our *Treasury* had been a Trust reposed in us by the House of *Austria*, to answer all the Draughts that could be made upon it by that House and its Heirs; or, that *England* was no more than a Province of its Dominions, that must obey all its Calls for Men and Money.

By a Conduct, till then unknown to Mankind, we paid our *Allies* for fighting their own Battles; and, whoever was Principal in the *War*, we were Principal in its Expence, as if we had been tied to them, as a Thief is to his Gang for Fear of being destroyed for Desertion.

For our Deliverance from the Commodity with which Men purchase the Conveniencies of Life, we were as obedient as the *Mercenaries* of *Switzerland* that part with their *Blood* for their *Bread*; and such Advantages were taken of our Obedience, that some of the Princes of the Empire would not suffer their Troops to take the Field, in their own Defence, till we had agreed to pay them for it.

Tho' the *Russian Empress*, by her Situation upon the *Continent*, may be indirectly affected by the *War* incumbent, she would not suffer one of her *Troops* to march

march in Favour of the *Hungarian Queen*, till we had agreed to pay for the Expedition, tho' the Friendship of that *Queen* may be of great Use to her, in future Disputes between her and the *Grand Seignior*, or other of her neighbouring Powers.

IN the *London Evening-Post* of November 3, 1748, it is said, in its Extract of a Letter from the *Hague*, that the “ Auxiliary *Russians* insist strenuously upon “ being paid what is stipulated, and the Coffers of the “ Republic are empty ; but happy for those *Northern* “ *Swissers* that *England* has answer'd for the United “ Provinces ; and if it should happen that these last “ should be deficient in Payment of there Subsidy, then “ the former is bound to pay it for them.”

ENGLAND might have foreseen, before it answer'd for the United Provinces, that there would be no *Money* in their *Coffers* at the Time of Payment, but if it was her Choice to augment her own Debt for the Opportunity of making this Compliment to that *Republic*, it will be a Proof of their being no Boundary to the Generosity of a *Country Esq* but what is to come from the Ruin of his Estate.

THAT Balance upon the *Continent* which furnish'd the fatal Pretext for our Engagement in a *Land-War*, could not affect us who were not of it, and had then a greater *Trade* than was enjoy'd by any Nation in the Universe, and a Superiority of *Shipping* to protect it, and defend us from all Manner of Insults, therefore, as far as it might affect the Princes of the Empire, it was their Business only whose Interests lay within its Circle, for our mixing with their Debates upon Interests

terests we have no Concern in, cannot finish but in our Loss of *Trade*, *Riches*, and *Honour*.

THO' we are so excluded from the Interests of the Empire, and the Disputes that may arise between its Princes and other Powers, they have cost us more in *Money* and the Loss of *Trade*, than many of the Dominions of the Empire would be worth, if they were united in one; and the *Naval War* it has forc'd upon us, may give *France* the Advantage in *Shipping*, which *Sweden* gave *Muscovy* in maintaining too lasting a *War* against her. For

IN the *Daily Advertiser* of the 21st of *December* 1747, it is said, That (upon Conditions therein mention'd) "the Merchants of *St. Malos*, *Nants*, and *Dunkirk*, offer their King to furnish him at their own Expence, with Fifty arm'd Vessels, each of which shall carry from Fifty to Sixty Guns." And,

IN the *General Evening-Post* of *Saturday* the 19th of *March*, 1748, it is said, "That a Company is forming in *Paris*, which proposes offers of building Eight new *Men of War* annually, during twelve Years successively for the King's Use, two of which are to be Seventy, two of Sixty, and four of Fifty Guns each. The Company undertakes to buy the Timber necessary for that Service, on Condition the King will cause it to be transported, and provide the Cannon; and several Vessels are arriv'd at *Brest* with Timber, to build Men of War in that Port also."

THIS is an offer of ninety-six Sail in twelve Years, and the Fifty offer'd by the three Towns above-mention'd will make one hundred and forty-six Sail; if these

these Offers are accepted, and consider'd with the *Naval Power* that Prince is already possess'd of, and with what *Ships* he may be capable of buying and building, it may raise strong Apprehensions of his being very near to that Dominion upon the *Seas*, which we have enjoy'd ever since the Defeat of the great *Armado* from *Spain*; And,

IF, by his late Successes, he should reduce the States General to a Necessity for confederating with him, or should cast an Aw upon them that may prevent their confederating against him, he, as our *British Kings* have done, may bear the Imagry of that *Neptune* to whom the *Ethnic Divinity* ascrib'd the *Government of the Seas*.

THE Profits *France* makes in the Trade we forc'd upon her, in Consequence of our Engagements in a *Land War* against her, makes her so much too powerful for the Princes in whose Favour we engag'd, that it would have been a real Advantage to them, and a Loss to her, if we had taken no Part in it. For

IN our reducing *France* to the Necessity of making Cloth for herself, we were of greater Use to her, than our confederating with her against her Enemies, could have been, by its giving her a Power that is running into a Perpetuity which improves as it proceeds; and, as the Power it has given her in the *Commerce* may improve, that which remains to us must decline, the same Branches in *Trade* making that Source of Profit to both Nations, from whence their Power is deriv'd.

OUR Superiority at *Sea* cannot be continued without a Return of the *Trade* by which it was acquir'd,

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for without the *Commerce* which created our *Fleets*, their Power cannot be maintain'd, and that return of Trade to us will not be while *France* has *Sheep*, with the Art of working their *Wool* (and in a cheaper Way than we can) and *Shipping*, by which it may be carried to the Markets, manufactur'd.

By the Advantage we have given her in the *Commerce*, she makes a greater Figure than in any Time since the Foundation of her Empire, for that run of Victory our *Arms* had in *Flanders* in the War of Queen *Anne*, her present King enjoy'd, but with this difference, that we fought several Battels, and were several Years in the doing that which he did in one Battle, and in one Year's Time.

THE interdicting our Trade with *France*, and the other Incidents the War of King *William* produc'd, make her more formidable upon the *Continent* than she could have been if we had taken no Part in the War against her; nor could she have had the Power she is possess'd of at *Sea*, if we had refrain'd from those inadvertent Engagements by *Land*, or had us'd the *Dutch* Policy in maintaining an advantageous Trade with the Nation we arm'd against.

THE Trade of *France* before the fatal War of King *William*, was but trifling to what it is now, and the *Employment* it gave to their People and *Shipping*, was as nothing to that which is given them by the manufacturing of *Wool*, and other Things for the foreign Markets they are possess'd of. This great Change gave the mighty Power her King has so lately exerted, in Degrees much greater than had appear'd in her before. And,

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By the Offers her *Merchants* have made, it appears they are pleas'd with that Weight in *Silver*, and *Gold*, which their *Commerce* has loaded them with, and will augment it by all the Ways in their Power; and that, tho' *France* has receiv'd very great Losses in the Captures we have made in this *War*, such is now her Taste to the Sweets of *Trade*, that she seems resolv'd to promote and protect it with the utmost of her Force; and her Losses seem to be a Discovery of her Defect in her Naval Power, that has brought her to a Resolution which may give her the Superiority at *Sea*, and, in that Case, we shall suffer more by her Losses than she will do; and when it shall be observ'd, that her growing *Trade* will give her a growing *Fleet*, when with the Decline of our *Trade* the Force of our *Fleet* must decline, it will appear that *France* may have that Advantage, even in her *Naval War*, which *Sweden* gave *Muscovy* in maintaining too lasting a War against her. And,

It is not improbable, that the Peace this *War* must finish in, is calculated for no longer Time than while this may be effected, and the quiet Enjoyment it may give to *France* in the *Trade* she is possess'd of, for the facilitating this View, and the speedier Accomplishment of all that she may have in it.

THE *War* that was calculated for the creating a Debt upon our Nation, was inglorious in its subduing us at our own Expence; nor was it less ignominious that our *Senate* of that Time, which was esteem'd the collective Wisdom of our Kingdom, should suffer its Credulity to be play'd upon by the Artifice which im-

pos'd a Belief upon it, that our *Taxes* should be totally reduced at the finishing of the *War* they were laid to maintain. Also,

THAT the Interdict upon our *Trade* with *France* could not be hurtful to us, from a falacious Pretence, the *French* could not raise *Wool* in *Quantity*, and *Quality*, for the making such Goods as we serv'd them with; and that their *Necessities* would oblige them to trade with us again at the finishing of the *War* incumbent.

By the Fulness of their Faith the Bait had it's Effect, by a Trick that was to Ruin our Nation in Compliment to the Ambition of one Man, which prov'd the *Senatorian Wisdom* of that Time, to be the same that influenc'd the Sages of *Gotham*, in the Gravity of their Deliberations upon Ways, and Means, for the hedging in of *Cookcoos*, and the drowning of *Eels*. For

FRANCE knew how to multiply her *Flocks* for *Quantity* in *Wool*, and how to mend its *Quality* by carding some of the *longer Wool* of the Northern Nations with their own, to hold it to a Thread in the Spinning, and so small a Quantity does it, that they afford the Price, and Carriage of the *Wool* of foreign Growth, and under-sell us by the Advantage they have in the Price of their Labour. And,

THE *French* have *Wool* in *Quantity* and *Quality*, and the Wisdom by which King *William's* Army was disbanded in *Flanders*, furnish'd them with *Artificers*, that nothing might be wanting to their Instruction in the working it. And

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THEY are so far from the supposed Necessity of trading with us again, that they not only furnish themselves, but trade against us in the same Commodities our former *Senates* were made to believe they would be in that Necessity for, and have beaten us out of the best of our Markets, by selling them cheaper than we can. And,

OUR *Taxes* they were made to believe would not be continued beyond the War of King *William*, remain'd, after that, through a lasting Peace with all the World, are still subsisting, and augmenting, and will be, as long as there shall be Money to pay them. For

TAXES are now levied to pay the Interest of Monies rais'd by *Taxes*, by which one *Tax* begets another, and they breed, increase, and multiply according to their Kind, as other Things do, or as an accumulated Interest upon Money, resolves into Principal, and, as such, calls for the Payment of an Interest. Thus,

IT appears, that the borrow'd Money we pay an Interest for, was borrow'd of ourselves, so that the Lenders are paying an Interest for the Money they lent, and it is with our own that we are paying ourselves an Interest for our own, by a sagacious Circle the War of King *William* made for the People of *England* to dance in.

THUS, our *Senators*, who were esteem'd Oraculous, were bubled into a Labyrinth of Miseries that strengthen as they go, and admit of no Remedy but that which is applied to the Gout, when the Doctor tells the Patient, *he must grin and endure it*; and the Memories
of

of the Allbelieving People of our associated Counties are stained by the Reproaches of their Sons, who have no other Relief under the Bonds their infatuated Fathers laid upon them.

OUR *Trade* falls away like *Leaves* from their *Trees* in the Approach of *Winter*; or, as if it were to follow, Branch after Branch, as one Leaf follows another, till the *Tree* is stript of all its *Clothing*; and their Flight is to *France*, where they are used with the Indulgence they deserve, and contribute to the making her the Centre of all the Riches the *Commerce* can produce.

THE shutting up our *Glass-houses*, by a *Tax* upon *Glasses*, to support our Generosity in the yearly *Pensions* we grant to our Allies, breaks our Capacity of serving other Nations with that Commodity, and will oblige us to export our *Money* for the *Glasses* of our own consuming: But its sending our Workmen Abroad with that Part of their Art in which they excel, is still more pernicious; for, where they fix, that will be planted, take Root, and, growing up against us, will make another Nation the Seat of a beneficial Branch of our *Trade*.

SEEING our *Trade* in the Decay of the *drooping Flower* that falls by Degrees, till the *Garden* has lost her *Glory*, and our *Money* in Flight to our foreign *Pensioners*, as if it was driven by an Act of Banishment from the Country that acquired it by its Industry, if we had the *Ethnic Faith* in the Divinity of the Poets, we might believe the third *Destiny* was preparing the fatal Knife, to cut the Thread of our Happiness, that the smallest Portion of it may not exist to the finishing of this Generation.

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OUR present Distress cries aloud for a Peace; but it may force a Peace upon us like that Heat in the *Frying-pan* which made the *Fish* leap into the *Fire* for Relief: For our Ruin seems almost inevitable, whether it may be a Peace or a War that shall be our Fate; but, as a War may hurry it on with the greater Speed, it may be our Prudence to chuse a Peace, for, tho' all are to die, every one desires to live another Day, tho' it should be in Misery; and, in allowing a coarse, but a significant *Proverb* in the Case, it may be said, *That this is the Market to which we have brought our Hogs.*

WE now feel, that the House of *Austria*, and the *Dutch*, were our Leaders into our present Distress of *Trade*, *Money*, and *Credit*, and that our Care for their Interests brought a Neglect upon our own, as if it no way belonged to us; but we may say, as in the Case of a Sinner, that nothing could have hurt us but by our own Consent, and that we were greater Enemies to our own Happiness than the Power could have been that fought against us, and is now awful to us, and to the Rest of *Europe* by the Power we have added to it.

ALLOWING the Candour, Simplicity, and Rusticity, in which an ancient *Roman* would have spoken, without any Disrespect to the House of *Austria*, it may be said, That the House of *Farmer Doelittle* is of greater Advantage to us, that, having no Son, or Servant, but what is in diurnal Labour to promote our common Interest; but, ever since the Beginning of King *William's* War, the *Austrian House* has shared in our Labour, has been a Drain upon our Treasure, and imposed an annual Care upon

upon our Nation for the augmenting a Debt that has made it Insolvent.

WHETHER our *Commerce* should be oppressed, and a large Share of its Produce sacrificed to the Interest of the *Austrian House*, which is no more to us than we are to our *Antipodes*, is a Question which, in the Sense of every *Englishman*, should be answered in the *Negative*, it being so in its own Nature; but those who were under the Awe of Ministers that had *Places*, *Pensions*, and *Money* to dispose of, turned the *Negative* into an *Affirmative*, and our Nation was undone by it.

THE annual Augmentation of our Debt augments our *Taxes*, by which its Interest must be paid: Ease to our Country cannot be while the Debt is unpaid; our *Lands* will not be submitted to the Payment of it, and our *Commerce* cannot, one of its richest Branches being in the Hands of *France*, the Rest under Oppression; and the Duty upon Salt, in a Manner, alienates the best that remains, as a withered Branch that should be taken from the Body it belongs to by Amputation.

THIS Cloud hangs over us like a *Sea* that threatens an Inundation of Evils, which must call our Thoughts to all that remains to us improveable, if we are not within the Case of a poor *Lad* that would go twenty Miles to see a Funeral, in the Hope, that, when all the People were dead, the whole World would fall to him and his Mother. But,

I HOPE the Prosperity of our *Commerce*, which was once flourishing and gay as a *Tulip* in the Spring, is not to fall away totally before we may think it the Season for the Improvement it is still capable of; for, if that should

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be delayed till our Trade shall lose the Capacity of producing an Increase of *Silver*, to equal our Increase of People, a Poverty will steal upon them in a gradual Way, that may be too powerful for the Law by which Property should be protected; a Piece of *Silver* would become as precious as an equal Weight in *Oriental Diamonds*, and make every one wish *his Mother had been his Grave, or her Womb a perpetual Conception.*

THO' the Balance of Power upon the *Continent* concerns the Princes between whom it is divided, it concerns us no more than it does to know which is the *Great Mogul's* most favourite *Elephant*: But the Balance upon the *Waters* forbids our Care of the other Balances, that we may secure it for a *Freedom* that may carry our *Trade* to all Nations without Interruption. But,

In acting the Part of the *Busy-Body* among the Princes upon the *Continent*, and the *Country Esq* in paying for all the Company, our *Trade* is so reduced, that a total Reduction of our *Taxes* would not restore it to what it was before our entering into the War of King *William*, to which the Decay of our *Trade*, and the *Taxes* that cast the Stings of *Poverty* upon us, are naturally consequential.

KING *Charles the Second* was a Prince whose Heart was unmixedly *English*, and could not be otherwise, *England* being the Place of his Nativity; the Centre of all his Hopes, and the only Spot upon the Glob that afforded him a legal Claim to the Conveniencies of Life, and where his sole Interest lay, it was natural for his Heart to be: And,

As the Interests of the King and People were then

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mutual,

mutual, they were so dependent on each other, that the two could be but one, and the King differed not from the People, but in the Office that placed him at their Head for the Sake of Order; and, having no Interest but what he had in them, their Interest was unmixedly his Care, and he rejected all the Solicitations that were made for his confederating in a *Land-war*, that the Freedom of our *Trade* might be maintained by a Peace with all Nations; the growing Power of our *Navy*, and the greatest Good of his People, having their Dependence upon it, and this brought our Nation to that Height of Glory, in the Riches and the Power, which they received from the *Commerce*: Yet,

MANY in Dissaffection to the Royal Family threw Dirt at the Wisdom of that Prince in his parting with *Dunkirk*, tho' the keeping it might be impracticable, and must engage him in a *Land-war* that would break his Views to the making his Country the Centre of Riches, from the *Commerce* her Peace with all Nations would maintain: For,

As, on the Land-side, that Town would have been exposed to a Force superior to any we could form against it, the parting with it was necessary to the future Happiness of his People; and, as he was made a King for his People, and not for himself, that Venom which was creeping from the Tongues of his Enemies towards the Hearts of his Friends, produced no Change in the Measures he was taking: For he was as steady to the Interest of his Enemies as to that of his Friends, they being all of that one Family which the Order of Providence had committed to his Care. Yet,

A PARTY Inveteracy was such a Covering to the Wisdom of that Prince, in the surrender of that Town, that Justice could not be done to his Memory till the fatal Consequences of a *Land-war* proved how pernicious it is to the People of *England*.

THAT Prince foresaw, that our Happiness could not subsist but in those Fruits of Peace which appeared in Commodities from the *Levant*, the *Netherlands*, and other Countries, in Exchange for those of our own Manufacture, which attracted the Money of other Nations, and prevented the Export of our own. And,

IN the Gold of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the Money in all its Species of the Kingdom of *France*, which was then running with our Money, as if it had been of our own coining: He saw the Advantages of our Balance in Trade with those Nations, and preferred it to an idle Ostentation upon the Bravery of our *Troops*, that had no just or prudent Call to Battles, by which their Bravery might have shewn itself, in the Loss of their Blood, our Treasure and our Trade, for nothing but an empty Sound, that would never clothe a naked Body, or fill an empty Stomach.

PETER the Great, of *Muscovy*, conceiving the Riches and Strength of his Empire must spring from a Commerce, as from the Root of all that could be good to his People; he took *Asoph* from the *Grand Seignor*, that he might carry a Trade to the *Black-Sea*, and came in Person to the most trading Nations in *Europe* for Informations, by which he might lay the Foundation of a Trade with them.

THEN he acquired some Ports in the *Baltic-Sea* for

the opening a *Commerce* with all Nations ; and, for raising a *Fleet*, he made himself a Builder, and, in the Docks of *Holland*, laboured with those that laboured by Necessity for their Bread : And, in the Trading Arts, as well as in the liberal Sciences, he gave due Encouragement to the Foreigners that would fix in his Dominions, for the Instruction of his own People.

IT was this, and not his military Conduct, that, to his Honour, raised the Stile of *Peter the Great* ; and, if our Fathers had thought, as they ought to have done, of the Advantages our Nation received from the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, and of the *Commerce* the pacific Reign of *King Charles* the Second promoted, we should have in the History of our *British Kings*, a *Charles the Great*, for the very Reason that placed a *Peter the Great* among the Princes of the *Russian Empire* : But that Spirit which was raised against his Father did not allow of the Gratitude that was due to him ; for we were unsensible of the Worth of that *Trade* he promoted, till we felt the Smart of being without it.

As all the Degrees of Men are subsisted by the *Commerce*, and that Life receives from it its whole Enjoyments, the great Monarch of the *Russian Empire* esteemed it an Honour to him that fills the Throne of a trading Nation to understand it, as it is understood by one that uses it for the making a Fortune, it being an Essential to the Government of a trading People, and the forming such Laws as their *Trade* should be protected, relieved, and prompted by.

THE Care of the *Commerce* cannot be beneath him who is not above the Delicacies it affords ; and, as it is not

not beneath him who is not above the Guardianship of our Interests in it, nothing can form a Character of greater Honour to a Prince, than a Knowledge in the Thing which is the Source of Strength, and Treasure, to his People.

THE Throne of a *Trading People* depends upon their *Commerce* for the Solemnity that makes it Awful, and the Prince that fills it can no more subsist without the *Commerce*, than he can respire without the *Air* he has the Benefit of, and his own Interest makes its Success take Place of all other Considerations.

THE Gentlemen that were entrusted with the Fortunes of the People, were so unkind to themselves, and those that repos'd the Trust in them, as to esteem it beneath them to make the *Commerce* of our Kingdom a part of their Study, tho' it is delightful, and ennobled by the Benefits it affords to all Men. But

IF it is not beneath our Gentry to regale with the Riches our *Commerce* produces, nor to partake of the Money, in Marriages, that is made by it, they should not be above that Turn of Mind by which the Producer may be preserv'd, reliev'd, or improv'd.

IT cannot be understood by them, as it is by those who have an Education in it, to which Practice is annex'd, but as their Interest in their *Lands* will rise and fall by the Success, or Decline of the *Commerce*, it may incline them to advance in the Knowledge of it, as far as Books and Conversation may assist them in it.

THE odds between them and the *Merchant* is only in this, that the Endeavours of the one are to get an Estate by the *Commerce*, as the other's ought to be for the

the Improvement of Estates already gotten by it ; and, if it is thought necessary a Man of an Estate should know as much of the *Law* as may instruct him in its Defence, it is not less so, that he should know as much of the *Commerce* as may be necessary to its Improvement.

As our *Trade* is our present Food ; our future Hope ; our Strength ; our Treasure ; and the Source of our Recreations, no Subject can come within a Man's Choice that would be more worthy of the Time he may bestow upon it, for Nature has so provided, that what remains to us may be improv'd, and perpetuated, if we turn our Thoughts to the promoting it.

IN the Circle of my Acquaintance, I have found a great Variety in the Manners, Opinions, and Principles of Men, but know of none that receiv'd of the Spirit which govern'd *Socrates* in his Affection for his own Species, in the Fulness that appear'd in our dear Friend of the County of *Devon*, who seem'd possess'd of all the Requisites to the Composition of a true *Patriot*.

As if his Body had receiv'd the Soul of that great Ornament of the *Athenian Republic*, he was a generous, and a general Lover of Mankind, but with this Difference, that he esteem'd those in Local Nativity with himself, as Brethern in whole Blood, and those of distant Nations, as Brethern remov'd by that Mixture, which proceeds from a second Contract with another Family in private Life, or by the different Forms of Government, under which they live.

IT is with Pleasure that I remember a generous Concern in him, for Sufferings the Fulness of his Fortune

tune would not allow of his being a Sharer in; and his Generosity augmented, by his having no Issue to come within his Care for the Futurity he apprehended would be productive of Matter for every one to lament.

IN apparent Anguish of Mind, he frequently pour'd his Thoughts upon the presaging Corruption, which prevail'd in our Elections for Members to sit in *Parliament*, and upon the Elected in our Assemblies for Business, tho' their Fortunes should have rais'd them above that Infection one would not suspect in any but the most Necessitous, and the most Abject in their usual Way of thinking.

OUR *Parliaments* of that Time were the same as if their Members had been only nam'd by the Court for a Majority that might tally with its own Views; and, in their Hearings upon undue Elections and Returns, the Plaintiff's, or Defendant's Obedience to the Humour of the Court, and the Diction of the Minister, was that which determin'd their Fate.

THE Spirit which govern'd our *Parliaments* of that Time, made them all seem but as one that was to be continu'd to hasten the Time in which it should vote itself useless; and the electing them was not to make the Country a Party in the Elections, but to maintain the Form till the Time might serve for the laying them aside, and calm the Populace, that the last Buyer of our Elections might have his Bargains in Peace,

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which the Conservation of a painful Life, would augment its Misery, as each Day should produce fresh Matter for it to work upon. But,

By a *Ballot* in our *Elections*, the People may maintain their own *Liberties* against all Opposition, and, if they use not the Power they are possess'd of for the Preservation of *Liberties* that are not less dear to them than their Lives, under the greatest Severities in Servitude, they would be unworthy of any one's Pity, for the *Ballot* in the Choice of Members, and the giving their *Votes* in their Assemblies for Business, would give a *Freedom* to both, that would be a full Security to that of all the People.

I THINK it may be demonstrated, that it will be no Incumbrance upon the Elections in *Corporations* where the Votes are very Numerous ; and in *Parliament* it would anticipate Debate, a Part of which has been delusive, and pernicious, when a Majority was gain'd by the Delusion, which rarely fail'd when *Money*, or the Hope of *Money*, *Place*, or *Pension*, was tack'd to the Delusion. But,

A *Ballot* in both Houses would procure a *Freedom* in them that might answer the End of a *Universal Ballot*, and in the Use of it, *Gold* would lose its Force, and Consciences escape the Stings which are produc'd in those that set their Hearts in that potent Metal.

IN the open Vote, the *Voter* feels that *Gold* emasculates the Man, sinks his Courage, and creates a Contest between his Conscience, and his Avarice, that terrifies more than the Rod of a Schoolmaster ; but, in the Use of the *Ballot*, *Money* would not be given
for

for a *Vote* in the Country, nor *Place*, *Pension*, or *Money* for one in the House, because the Voter himself would be incapable of giving a satisfactory Security for his *Vote*.

PROMISES and *Menaces* would not be us'd to set a Man at Variance with himself, for his Conscience being then unrestrain'd, his *Vote* would proceed from the Uprightness of his Heart in the Service of his Country, and no Man would ask a *Vote* but in the general Way of offering himself a Candidate for an ensuing Election.

It would remove all Misunderstandings between the Court and the Country ; stifle all Quarrels between Parties in Towns-corporate, and Counties ; and in the Union it would produce, one unmixed Interest would be the Point to which every Man would direct his Wishes, his Words, and his Actions.

It would repair all the Breaches of our Constitution ; secure to the Crown as much in Honour, and Revenue, as would maintain its Splendour, and its executive Power, or as any Prince can deserve for his Service to a grateful People ; and would extinguish the Jealousies the People have entertain'd of its Prerogative, to its continual Disturbance, and not less to their own Disadvantage.

It would be that *Catholicon* to every Distemper of the State, as would resolve all Parties into one ; make all Men unite for a mutual Assistance to a common Benefit, and calm the Mind that a social Affection might ensue, and every virulent Distinction expire, that no one might be an Offence to another, or be offended to the Disturbance of that Peace within himself, of which he ought to be the Master.

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T H A T universal Harmony would succeed which has been restrain'd by the usual Way of Electing ; for that tells one how another disposes of his *Vote* ; and he that offends his Neighbour in it, answers for it in the Loss of his own Peace, and in an Enmity that is hurtful to him in the Way he is to seek his Bread. But,

I N the Use of the *Ballot*, every Man would have an undisturbed Enjoyment in the Royalty of his own House, and a *King of England* would bear the Majesty of a *King of Kings* ; the Crown would receive a greater Lustre than is given by the *Jewels* its Decorations consist of ; and, in the *Freedom of Parliaments*, the People would be placed beyond the Fear of losing theirs : nor would they have *Pensions* to raise for Men that neither want, or deserve them.

A S it cannot be known how a *Vote* is given by a *Ballot* (it being a Case in which the Voters own Word could not be taken) *Money* would not be offer'd for it in that Uncertainty ; Bribery would be no more ; and, as Party Quarrels must fall by the want of Matter to feed upon, their Extinction would be the Beginning of a general Peace among the People, and the fullest Security that can be given to the State, the Safety and Peace of the one being in that, upon which the other depends.

I T would destroy the Foundation of our Fears, which cannot be remov'd by the impotent Acts of former *Parliaments*, which were made for nothing but the extenuating an Odium their Authors incur'd by a *Corruption* themselves had promoted in their Elections, for in those that immediately ensu'd, they extended the

Corruption

Corruption farther than it had gone before ; but the Remedy in the *Ballot* will reach the Cause ; is easy ; and the easier it is, the more shameful will be the Disaster, that must succeed, to a Neglect of it.

SALUTARY, as this will be to the State ; easy as it would be to Effect ; and correspondent, as it would be to the Safety of the People, and the Desire of every Heart, the proposing it, in Bar to the Evils that would be in the Loss of our *Liberties*, might not be without its Difficulties, tho' not such as would be insuperable. For,

A PERSON that may influence *Voters* by the Hospitality, or Trade his Fortune may afford to his Neighbourhood, may form an Opposition to ensure the Election by his Fortune, which he might esteem doubtful in a *Ballot* ; and a Court may do the same, to maintain the Aw a *Treasury* casts upon those that would share in its Profusion, when a Majority may be wanting to the Support of its own Measures. For,

As Fetters of *Iron* are to the Body, those of *Gold* are to the Mind that indulges a Passion for it. Its Smiles, and Promises are pleasing, and it is not uninstructed in the *Syrens* Art of enchanting first, that it may kill afterwards ; and prostituting Men to the Passions that rage for Indulgence, it brings forth that Race of necessitous People, who swarm in *Courts* ; beg in *Velvets*, *Jewels*, *Brocades*, and *Embroideries*, and produces as monstrous Births in the Minds of Men, as succeed to Copulation between Beasts of different Species.

PRESENT *Gold* recreates the Eye more than the beautiful *Green* of an *Emrauld*, or the Play and Fire of an *Oriental Diamond*. Wonder not then at its prevailing with Men to the Sale of their *Liberties*, but the selling them for their own *Money* remains to be accounted for, and he that can reconcile it to human Understanding, must be the Master of as much Art as would be in the producing a Reconciliation between natural Antipathies.

THE *Commerce* rais'd upon the *Liberties* of the People in the buying and selling of Elections, was as new in the Manner as in the Matter, and contrary to the Views in which the *Commerce* is usually founded, because it must finish in Ruin to the *Commerciants*. For,

THE Tie between their *Liberties* and those of other Men, admitting of no Separation, he that sets theirs to Sale must sell his own with them, and, as that would be for his own Money, his *Liberty* would be parted with, and the whole Trade carried on for nothing but the Evil that would be in it, or, as if they were at Enmity with their *Liberties*, and must part with them at any Rate, for the Sake of Peace.

AT the opening of the Markets, a *Voter* might receive Five or Ten *Guineas* for his *Vote and Interest*, but paying the Fund from whence they issu'd, much more in smaller Sums between the *Markets*, the Poverty it impos'd upon him, plac'd a Temptation in the Money offer'd, that prov'd how consequential Slavery is to Poverty, and how easy it is to make a People subdue

subdue themselves at their own Expence, and by the Indigence that Expence shall bring upon them.

THENCE comes this Maxim of a Tyranical Prince, *Let us Impoverish that we may Enslave*, for it is Poverty that ties the Obedience of a People to the Will of a Tyranical Prince, and to this our Fathers submitted in the War of King *William*, tho' this could not be his View, because he could not live to see us in that Distress, nor could he think of more for himself than that of filling our Throne for the Term of his Life.

THE *Corruption* we complain of tallies with the Evils that *War* produc'd, as if it was calculated to bring forth the malevolent Effects that must proceed from so unjust a Cause, and to produce that Poverty to which Slavery is naturally consequential. But,

THE Money the Buyer of an *Election* receiv'd for it again, occasioned a Deficiency in the *Treasury*, towards which he had before paid, and must continue to pay in *Taxes*; and the Proportion his Estate must pay to the Poor that were fix'd in Parish Books, by the Payments their Labour made to it, made him a Receiver of no more than his own for the *Liberty* he was divesting himself, his Posterity, and his Country of, and he was then drawing Blood of himself, and making it his Choice to tread upon Thorns all the Days of his Life, rather than to part with a false Appearance of Gain.

THE *Corruption* was uncover'd; acknowledg'd; and by a strange Paradox, gloried in, and dreaded by the *Corrupters*, and the *Corrupted*, for both seeing their own Destruction in the Bargains they were then driving

ving, like Birds of ill Omen, they fear'd the Ruin that was to come out of it; and lov'd it for the wretched Trifle that appear'd in *Gold*.

BEING fix'd in the Infamy, the Tears of an *Heraclitus* would not have rais'd an exterior Remorse for the *Iniquity*, nor the Laughter of a *Democritus*, one Blush for the *Folly* that was in it, they being as the *Harlot* that is hardned by Custom, and repents not, tho' Self-condemnation never forsakes her.

IN that Deluge of Iniquity which extorted *Votes* by the Prevalence of *Money*, their Elections were void in themselves, as Acts extorted from Men in Prison, are declar'd in the Law; and by undue Elections, our Country was depriv'd of a Part of its Legislative Power, our Constitution violated, and the Sense of the *Crown* contradicted in its Writs for *Free Parliaments*.

As our *Liberties* could not be parted with but in a gradual Way, in the Beginning it might be thought the parting with one Branch would not endanger others, but as the Materials of an Arch have such a Bearing upon each other, that if a departed Stone is not replac'd, the whole will come down of itself, whatever Branch of *Liberty* is parted with, will lead to the Ruin of the Rest, the least Part lost, carrying a Force to him that may be possess'd of it, that may be us'd for the Remainder. For,

AN accumulating Power may attract the whole, one Thing given frequently conveying a Power by which others may be taken, and where the Power is we are not to doubt of the Use of it, for its Endeavours to extend to all Things, are restless, and destructive to the *Liberties* of those it may be exercis'd

upon,

upon, for a Branch of *Liberty* lost to the People, is like the *Duck of a Decoy* which is maintain'd to destroy all that it can of its own Kind.

THE Contiguity of the Nations upon the *Continent* produces a Necessity for standing Armies, to prevent Surprises from neighbouring Powers; and, as every one would make his Will a Law to all others, the Princes intrusted with them cannot be restrained from the absolute Power an Abuse of the Trust would possess them of: And, in the Strength of that Passion for Indulgence, there is so small a Distance between *Power* and *Tyranny*, that where the one is, the other will be; for they are as inseparable as the Heart and the Money of a Miser. But,

THERE is no Reason why the Virtue of a King of *England* should be brought to that Trial, *England* being in no Want of other Defence than that which the *Seas* and her own *Shipping* afford her; and, by our Separation from the *Continent*, with the Provision our Constitution makes for our *Liberties*, we cannot lose them, but by their Acts who may represent us in *Parliament*.

NATURE has so liberally contributed to our Safety from foreign Insults, that we shall be in no Necessity for Armies that would arm against our common Interest, and their *Liberties* from whom they would expect their Daily-bread; and the *Commerce* having added a *powerful Fleet* to that which Nature has done in our Defence, we have nothing to fear from other Nations, and our own will be in Safety, if it be not subdued by our arming a Part of our own People against the Rest: But,

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IN neglecting the Use of the *Ballot*, future *Parliaments* may be in that Obedience to the Dictation of an influencing Minister, which (in that Flow of Corruption) caused a Member to say in *Parliament*, *Let us count the Noses first, and hear what it is upon afterwards.*

THE Prevalence of that Spirit would make our Government as awful as the Governments upon the *Continent*, for a Minister that may have too strong a Passion for the *Golden Drops* they extract from a *Royal Treasury*, may be a Traytor to the *Liberties* of his Country, and that should be provided against by a People, who, from what has been, should reason to what may be. For,

A SAD Fatality must attend a People, when that which is the most dear to them, shall be destin'd to the Conduct of a *Minister*, who (like *Marius* and *Sylla*) shall be the Author of *Proscriptions*, but under an Address that shall produce the Sanction of the *Proscrib'd* themselves, and involve a whole Kingdom in the Solemnity of their Act.

IN the Time of that *Corruption*, the Passion ^{for} ~~of~~ *Money, Place, and Pension*, ran as high as that for monumental Existence, when, for a Life in *Books*, one burn'd the *Roman Capital*, and another the *Ephesian Temple of Diana*, for by taking the Money into their Hearts, the *Public* was wounded in its most tender Part for the Sake of the *Private*, tho' that must bear its Proportion in every Misfortune to the *Public*. Conscience they ridicul'd as an old fashion'd Thing, and made it as changeable as the *Camelion* in its Colour, by shifting it to every Point that seem'd profitable.

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CROMWELL being as Despotic in the Government he forc'd his Way to, as any Prince upon the *Continent*, it is not impossible that some other may, nor that some future King of *England* may buy the People into the Humour of granting all that he may have a Mind to ask, for Art frequently baffles Nature, and we know what a *Cripple Money can make of Moral Rectitude, or Human Understanding.*

IT was Art (assisted by an Enthusiastical Distemper in the Vulgar) that favour'd *Cromwell's* Scheme for placing himself at the Head of the *Public*, and that which it did without Money, it may do with it in greater likelihood of Success, and supply the want of that Distemper in the Vulgar, which tallied so well with his Ambition.

THE Strength of that tumultuary Time, lying in the Hands of the *Rabble*, he took that Shape which turn'd their Humour to his own Views. He was a Man of a towering Ambition, but not of Avarice, and, as that was a Cover to his Iniquity, it facilitated an Indulgence to his growing Passion, and his being under no Tie in Religion, promoted that Spirit which would lead to the Point his Conduct was calculated for.

COUNTERFEITING all Virtues by Arts peculiar to himself, he was not esteem'd less in the Favour of God than *Mahomet* is by those that pay him their daily Adorations; and stretching his Invention to swell the *Enthusiasm* that inflam'd the deluded People, he rais'd it to an Excess that made his Cause, the Cause of *King Jesus.*

THE *Holy War* that was to be conducted by the Captain of *King Jesus*, kindled a Fervour that made Lives cheap, and gave more Force to his Army than a greater would have had under any other Command. The Justice of his Cause was measur'd by its Success, and Praises were sung to him as to the most High in the Divine Favour; a Reverence was paid to the Wicked; Iniquity was in Authority, and in no want of Disciples.

A CHANGE in Church and State, being the Aim of some Men of Figure, and Fortune, they came into the earliest of his Measures, and the Strength that might forward their Views, being in his *Illuminated Rabble*, they countenanc'd those they inwardly detested; and by the Advantage he made of their Delusion, he led them greater Lengths in his own Iniquity than they intended to go, and, in its own Season, he jostled his Coadjutors out of their own Views; convinc'd them that his Views, and theirs, center'd not in the same Point, and that, as he had gain'd the Helm, he could conduct the Ship without 'em.

BEING as daring as he was artful, he carried that in his *Scabberd* by which the People were to be govern'd, and, in Answer to an Argument in *Parliament* from the Great Charter of the Kingdom, he drew it, and made it known to the Members he had appointed that for the *Great Charter* by which they should be govern'd, and that his Will was the Law which should be maintain'd by it.

IN the Heat of that Time, the People knew not where to stop in their Impatience for a Change, but ran

ran into Lengths of Folly, and Excesses of Cruelty, and Iniquity, that made those who had blown up their Passions to that Height, see the Misery they had brought upon themselves; and the inflam'd People they had deceiv'd. And,

WHEN they saw a great Part of the Kingdom under *Sequestration*, and the whole under the Insults of a *Tyrant*, and an *Usurper*, Grievances were felt that exceeded their Imagination; but finding no Remedy in a Passive Repentence, the Hands that did the Mischief felt a Necessity for the undoing it again, and promoted the *Restoration* that ensu'd, which restor'd their *Constitution with their King*, and prevented the Destruction that was rolling upon 'em from their own Folly.

IN their Heat of Passion, they saw not, that *what is obtain'd by Violence cannot be maintain'd but by the same, and that the Result of Violence is in Ruin to the Violent themselves*. By Treaty with the King, Things might have been adjust'd without the dangerous Convulsion by which our *Liberties* had been totally destroy'd if the People had neglected the *Means*, or mis'd the *Season* for their Redemption by the *Return of the King*.
For

ART, Accident, Precipitation, Enthusiasm, Ambition, and Hypocrisy, were under such a Combination against the *Liberties* of the People, that if *Cromwell* had been succeeded by Men equal to himself in Art, and Iniquity, a few Years would have confirm'd their total Extinction. For

MEN born under an heavy Burthen, bear it with the Tameness of the *humbled Ass*, that never disputes the Will of his Master in the Weight that is laid upon him; for the Mind of one born in Oppression is habituated to it, and the Generation born under *Cromwell*, would have favour'd the Successors to his *Tyranny*, against the Prince that came to their Deliverance, and by whose Hand, alone, the Wounds must be heal'd which they had receiv'd from the Precipitation of their Fathers. And,

THE Things that favour'd *Cromwell's* Ambition, may occur to the indulging the same Passion in others, excepting the enthusiastical Spirit, which disgrac'd itself beyond a Probability of regaining the Repute that might give another Man the Advantage he made of it. But

THE Charms of *Gold* raise a Spirit that may have as full a Power for the making a *Tyrant*, and lead future *Parliaments* into the Humour of allowing a *military Power* to which the sole Direction of the People shall be submitted; and, if we reason from what has been done by that enchanting *Metal*, to what it may do against our *Liberties*, it may remind us of the Care that is due to their Preservation.

THAT Spirit may be laid by a *Ballot*, and, if Reason had that Power upon the Will which it exercises upon the Understanding, it would be us'd in *Parliament*, and found a full Security for that *Freedom* to which we are directed by an Impulse in our Nature, as the principal End, and Felicity of the social Life; and about which, Jealousies have subsisted between
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the Court and the Country that were sometimes the Ruin of both, and, in all Times, a Misfortune that allow'd not of Peace to either.

ALL the People of *England* have an equal Right to *Liberty*, and it is the most noble Part of that Inheritance which comes within the Privilege of their Birth, but when *Bribery* prevail'd in our Elections, the unqualified for *Voting*, and the uncorrupted among the *Voters*, esteem'd it an unnatural Hardship that the *Avarice* of the *corrupted* should involve their Natural Rights (who had no Share in the *Corruption*) in a Servitude from which there might be no Redemption. But

THE *Ballot* would make an equal Provision for the *Liberties* of all the People, that one Part of them may not be oppress'd by an unnatural *Corruption* in the other, and without it our *Constitution* would not deserve the Things that are said to its Honour; for *Liberty* not fully secur'd, cannot be fully enjoy'd, because, without a Fence, it will be open to the Violence of a powerful Invader, and cannot amount to any Thing more than a Name.

It would be a Boundary to the Prerogative of the Crown that would restrain it to the Circumscription of the Law, and without Offence to any Right in the Prince that may fill the Office of a King, for the Crown and the People should be as two Friends under a mutual Communication of Benefits, to prevent Oppression to either from other Hands.

THE Negotiations upon our Elections were forked Evils that wounded every Way, for it would have been a *Folly* in them that took Money for their *Liberties* to

to lament their Loss, tho' the Sin, and the Shame would remain, as Matter for the Conscience to reproach them with. And,

THEY would have been Knaves to Posterity in remaining by Bargains so Rash, and Criminal, to their Ruin ; and, in refusing to surrender what they had sold would have been a Fraud upon the Buyers ; therefore, they could not look back upon the Deformity of the Action without Shame, nor forward to the Ruin that must follow it, without Terror.

NOR could the Buyers be less culpable of *Fraud*, and *Folly*, in tempting Men by Trifles to known Destruction, and dealing with a People that would use the most violent Means for the regaining what they had lost, as soon as they should feel the Effects of their Mistake, in the Severities of an absolute Power.

As *Prosperity* is nothing without *Freedom* in the Use of it, in the Sale of our *Liberties*, no Favour would be shown in the sparing of our Lives, because the Fullness of Misery would subsist in the want of that *Freedom* which makes them valuable ; for all Things have such a Propensity to *Liberty*, that no *Vegetable* will flourish in Restraint, and, in us, it makes all the good these Bodies can receive in Life.

OUR *Liberties* are the principal End of the social Life ; they give the Reason for our retiring from the wilder, and more desultory Way of living, into Towns and Communities for our greater Safety in mutual Assistance, and Defence, and to gratify our Propensity to Conversation with our own Kind ; and, if they had been totally lost, it would have been like a Shipwreck
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on Shoar, where all might have been fav'd in the Use of the *Ballot*.

As the Strength of a Prince lies not so much in his *Arms, Forts, and Magazines*, as in the Hearts of his People, the Prince that uses their Power against themselves, can have no Taste of that undisturbed Rest the Night affords to him that has nothing to fear.

IN a Prince, it would be a Point of Glory beyond Expression, to use the Power he is possess'd of, in the Protection of their *Liberties* from whom it naturally proceeds; for it would make the most beautiful Correspondence with the Trust repos'd in him, and the Functions of Regality (which allow not of the Use of Power against the *Freedom* of its own Source) would be exercis'd in the greatest Glory that can appear in a Throne.

A *TITLE* to *Liberty* that proceeds from the Privilege of a Man's Birth, ought not to be touch'd while his Obedience is paid to the social Laws that proceed from the Principle under which he claims, for it is not of inferior Value to Life, it being the only Thing that can mix with its Sorrows for the Benefit of a Relax.

OF the *Corrupters*, and the *Corrupted*, many are gone down to the Place of Silence, and it might have been our Happiness, if that passive State had been their Portion in the Time of their being with us; and, if they could be immediately follow'd by all that would copy after them, it would be more worthy of a solemn Thanksgiving than all the Victories we obtain'd in the War of *Queen Anne*.

IF Virtue may be reverenc'd in the Memory of Men departed, Vice may be reprov'd in the Dead for the Sake of the Living, and the Infamy of the Dead that submitted to the *Corruption* of that Time, ought to fix in the Living that would succeed to their Iniquity as they do to their Estates, that in Life, and in Death, nothing may be lost in the Characters they deserve ; for the Infamy of the Dead is as Exemplary to the Detestation of the Living, as the Memory of their Virtues may be to their Imitation.

GREAT must be their Infamy who should have made themselves awful, and venerable, by their Virtues, as *Licurgus* was to his *Lacedemoneans*, when, under the Cover of a Multitude of Shames, they sat (like common Prostitutes to the Will of an influencing Minister) to vote away all that was to make Life agreeable to those they represented.

THE Man who thinks not beyond himself, is unwilling to know, or to remember, that the Prosperity, or Adversity of the *Public* and the *Private*, are eventually mutual, but under an abstracted Affection for himself, he is a practical Enemy to both, for the *Public* cannot suffer in any Thing but what the *Private* must feel.

IN that Time, a Gentleman, then in Friendship with a Minister of State, sent him the Particulars of a useful Production, and receiv'd for Answer, *Ned, the Invention you inform me of, may be equal to what you say of it for the Public, but as the Author can do nothing for the Private, what is it to you or me ?*

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By this Abuse of the Trust repos'd in the Minister, our Country lost the best *Diving Vessel* that ever was projected; the Author was ruin'd by the Expence he had made upon it, and it tells what must be the Fate of a Nation, when its ministerial Offices are fill'd by Men who think not beyond themselves.

As a *Royal Treasury* opens every Ear to the Voice of that Minister which the *Treasury* itself must obey, no greater Misfortune can attend a People, than that of being under so unhappy an Influence, for the *Money* commands an Attention, and creates an Obedience, by which the Dictator's Measures are impos'd upon Men to whom it is made awful.

It was the Influence of a Minister that produc'd the fatal Distinction between our *Landed* and *Trading* Interests, which was pernicious to both, in oppressing the one by which the other should have been improv'd; and it produc'd those *Taxes* and *Excises*, which pend to the Ruin of our *Liberties*, and oppress every Branch of the *Trade* they are impos'd upon. For

Our landed Men, by that unhappy Distinction, laid more Weight upon *Labour* than it ought to have born, to ease their *Lands* in the *Tax*, which it would have been their Prudence to have paid, to ease the *Commerce*, as it is a pure Effect of *Labour*, and must suffer in every Duty that is laid upon it. For

As our *Trade* gives all that Value to our *Lands* which they produce beyond the immediate Necessities of our Nature, it would be better for the *landed Interest* that our *Lands* should bear the whole Weight of a *War*, than that our *Trade* should fall under the least Oppres-

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tion, for as it will not flourish without *Freedom*, it always forsakes the Country which refuses it the *Freedom* that is of Necessity to its Success.

A *Trade* lost by Oppression is not to be regain'd, but a Loss on our *Lands* by a *Tax*, would be restor'd to them again, by the Fulness of the *Commerce* that springs from their Produce, when its Freedom is maintain'd ; and the false Policy that laid the Weight upon *Labour*, brought so many Families to a Necessity for parochial Charities, that what was sav'd in Payments to the Crown, they more than paid to the Poor of their own making.

GOLD falling from the Fingers of a late Minister like the refreshing Dews of the Evening, made him the Master of a Majority in our *National Assemblies*, for *Excises*, that would have effected the total ~~Distinction~~ of our *Liberties*, if the People had not shewn a Resentment which made it his Prudence to sink the Cause for his own Safety.

BY his Influence, the collective Wisdom of our Country incur'd the Disgrace of that unsteady Conduct which totally reduc'd the Duty upon *Salt* for the Benefit of our Country, and restor'd it again in the Year following for a trifling Advantage to the *Treasury*, as if that and the People were in separate Interests, and that it could not subsist but by their Ruin.

IF the Act for its Reduction was good, it should not have been repeal'd, or not in the Year that immediately ensu'd, that making too great a Discovery of the servil Condition our Country was reduc'd too by the want of Honour, and Courage, in its Representatives ; but if they did not see where the Benefit of
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that Act lay, they should have been better inform'd before its Repeal had receiv'd the Solemnity of their Sanction.

FOR the *corrupting* our People in the Management of *Elections*, that pitiful Duty seem'd better in the *Treasury* to him that had the Care of it, than *Millions* diffus'd among the People for the Benefit of the *Commerce*, and the Will of the *Minister* became Vocal in those that voted in the Case; for the Strength of *Gold* turn'd those that already abounded in it, into Tools to him that had the dividing of a *Treasury*, and proves the largest Fortunes are no Fence against Disgrace, when Honour has not the Force which should subdue the Passion that defaces it.

UNFORTUNATE is the Country that maintains a *Corruption* which is to finish in its own Ruin; and those that desire to live and die in their own Country, and to share in her Fate, her *Felicity* must be so near their Hearts, as to have the first, and best of their Wishes, and her Sufferings a Subject for them to lament; but such as are so much in love with Oppression as to oppress themselves rather than to be without it, must be govern'd by the Wisdom of the *Wood* in the Fable, which lent an *Helve* to the *Hatchet* for its own Destruction.

THE Duty upon *Salt* imposes such a Neglect upon the Improvement of our *Lands*, and *Fishery*, that no greater Favour can be bestow'd upon all the Interests of our Kingdom, than would be in its Reduction for ever; and as our Loss in the richest Branch of *Trade* upon the Globe, should bring the strongest Engagement upon

our Care for the remaining Branches, their Thoughts who are entrusted with the whole, cannot come under an Employment that will turn so much to their own Advantage.

O U R *Fishery* is more rich in its self, than any Mine of *Gold*, or *Silver*, in either of the *Indies*, and nothing prevents our making a Profit of the many *Millions* the *Dutch* annually find in it but a Law of our own making, which, as far as it favours them, shews, that Fondness for *Allies* which a Gentleman had for a great Number of *Cousins*, till by long, and painful Enquiry, he found as many as brought a Waste upon his Fortune, and left him to lament the Loss of it.

I T was said by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that if we had every Tenth *Herring* the *Dutch* then caught in our Royalty, it would be worth eight hundred thousand Pounds a Year to our Country, which would be *eight Millions* for the Ten, and I was so rash, as to think it a Mistake in that Great Man. But

A B O U T the Year 1690, the most experienc'd Authors concluded, that, before the *Dutch* had half the Number of *Busses* they then gave an Employment too, the *Herring*, *Cod*, and *Ling* they took in our Seas, produced *Ten Millions* Sterling a Year. And

T H E Time of their having not half the Number of *Busses* they employ'd in 1690, was so near to that of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that it affords a great Probability of Truth in his Assertion; and from his Time to 1690, in which they more than doubled their Number of *Busses*, the Improvement of their Profits, and Employment

ment of their People, must have been in Proportion to the Improvement of their *Shipping*. And,

IN the fifty-eight Years since 1690, their *Shipping*, *Employment*, and *Profits*, must have increas'd in Proportion to the Increase of the People in the Nations they serve with that Commodity, and, in this, it may be seen how great a *Trade* and *Treasure*, a full *Fisbery* would produce, and the Greatness of our Loss in a pitiful Duty upon *Salt*, by which we are prevented in the Profits.

RIGHTLY do the *Dutch* stile the *Fisbery*, the *Golden Mine of their Seven Provinces*, for it has produc'd more to them than the whole *Trade* they have maintain'd with the *Indies*, and its Value to us would be almost equal to the present Rental of all the *Lands of England*, if we had no Duty upon *Salt*.

By an Account taken in *Holland* in 1669, the Number of Subjects to the *States General*, appear'd to be two Millions four hundred Thousand, of which four hundred and fifty Thousand were then employ'd in the *Fisbery*, and the thirty-two *Trades* depending upon it, which came near to a fifth Part of their People. And,

IF an Increase of People in the Nations they serve with *Fish*, has been equal to their own in the seventy-seven Years since that Account was taken, vast must our Loss have been by their fishing in our *Waters*; and an Employment given to four hundred and fifty Thousand of their Hands, about the Year 1669, must strengthen our Faith in the Assertion of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*.

TO the *Dutch*, Nature affords but little more for foreign Markets than *Madder*, *Cheese*, and *Butter*, but
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for the *Fish* they take in our *Waters*, they have Returns from *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, the *Streights*, *Germany*, *Brabant*, and the *East Countries*, in a Variety and Quantity of *Commodities*, as well as *Money*, that give them the Capacity of furnishing to every Nation, what may be wanting from so great a Collection as they make in exchange for their *Fish*.

CONSIDERING the Numbers of our own People a full *Fishery* would employ; the *Customs* that would be paid upon the foreign *Commodities* our *Fish* would produce; the *Money* they would prevent the exporting and occasion the importing of, we may see our Disgrace in the sad Effects of our tame Surrender of a *Treasure* that gave the Power the *Dutch* are now possess'd of.

THE *Dutch* themselves consume as many *Herrings* as most Nations, and, if we would assert a Right no other Nation would so supinely part with, or endeavour to recover it in the pacific Way of reducing our Duty upon *Salt*, the *Dutch* would be so far from rivalling us in the *European Markets*, that they would not have an *Herring* for their own Consumption but what must be of our catching, and curing, as I believe has already appear'd to you in the first Part of my Discourse upon this Subject.

OUR fighting and trading *Ships* employ a great many *Seamen*, and breed but few, and our *Colliers* spend almost as many as they make, but each *Fishing Vessel* makes between Six and Ten new Men every Year, and, if we had the full *Fishery*, it would prevent the Necessity in our *Ships of War* for an unnatural Press upon those that navigate our Goods to foreign Markets, and

and the Stagnation it brings upon the *Commerce* by the want of their Hands.

SOME apprehend the promoting our *Fishery* would check that Breed of *Cattle* which makes the Rents of their *Grazing Lands*, but we are now furnish'd with as much *Fish* as we can consume, and as a greater Quantity could not improve its keeping Quality, its Consumption in our Inland Counties would not Increase, so that the Consumption of *Cattle* could not be less, nor that of *Fish* more, by an Improvement in our *Fishery*, therefore, in promoting it, nothing but the *foreign Trade* is consider'd, and that cannot affect our landed Interest but to its Advantage.

IF the Gentlemen who are principally interested in our *Lands*, would be so kind to themselves, as to think of the natural Tie between this, the other Branches of our *Trade*, and the Interest that is inherent in them, they would stifle the Distinction which makes two Interests where there should be but one, and promote the *Trading Interest* for the Improvement of their own Estates.

THE *Dutch* have the Advantage that none do assist in their Councils, but what know, and feel every Change that may occur to the Disadvantage of their *Commerce*; know from whence it proceeds; and by what Means a Difficulty may be remov'd, or prevented; or a Remedy found when Relief is wanting.

MERCHANTS are in our *Parliaments*, who are fill'd with the good Sense of Men of Business, but while the pernicious Distinction between our *Landed* and *Trading Interests* is subsisting, their Suffrages will be over-

over-rul'd by the great Majority that has frequently opos'd 'em, tho' they could do nothing in Favour of our *Trade* but what must turn to their Advantage who were in the Opposition. But

IT is a National Misfortune that our Gentry, who have the making those Laws by which our *Trade* is to be directed, know not how it may be eas'd, promoted, or protected, for it is too tender to be touch'd by Hands that know not what they are doing in it, the *Commerce* being like the Body Natural, which will expire in a dangerous Case, if treated by one that does not understand it.

IF our *Fishery*, and the other Branches of our *Trade*, had been regarded by the Worth that is in them, it would have been better proportion'd to the Interest of a *Trading People*, than that Appearance upon the *Contentment* which promis'd nothing to us but unnatural *Excises*, and *Taxes* upon our *Labour*, that will drag our *Trade* to as certain a Period, as the crying it down by the Authority of *Parliament*, could do.

EACH Day will acquaint us with a Necessity for the Improvement of our *Lands*, it being a Subject on which our Nature does not allow of long Silence, and as *Salt* in the *Manure* would soon double their Value, it is to be hop'd, the Gentlemen who are interest'd in them for all that they enjoy, and are possess'd of the Power of restraining the Impediments to it, by reducing the Duty upon *Salt*, will not suffer that to remain a perpetual Obstacle to so great a good to themselves, and the People they represent in *Parliament*.

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FROM our Exports the Profits of our *Commerce* proceed, for the Things exported being more than we can consume, in respect to our Necessities, they are superfluous, and their whole Produce is a pure Profit, whether it be in *Silver*, *Gold*, or other valuable Commodities; and as far as our Country may be enrich'd by our Exports there is a Necessity for the Improvement of our Lands that our Exports in *Corn*, and other *Commodities*, may be multiplied, and our *Shipping* make the Benefit of their Carriage.

By Failures of Stock in *Corn*, our Exports have produced Scarcities at Home that rais'd *Wheat* to a Price which, by Act of *Parliament*, lay a Restraint upon the exporting it that prevented the Profits we should have made, if our Stock had been equal to our own Necessities, and the Demands we had from Abroad. And,

As the Increase of our own People are no less than thirty Thousand *per Annum*, and will be annually more, by an Increase upon that Increase, a Stock of *Corn* always in Hand, may be as necessary a Provision for our own People, as for the Demands of other Nations.

I THINK it was in 1728, that we imported *Corn* to prevent a *Famine*, and the Scarcity proceeded not from *Blites* which the bringing our *Seed-Wheat* had deliver'd us from, but from our Exports, and a Failure in that Providence by which we should have had a constant Stock that would answer to our own Necessities, and our Exports. I remember the same to have been before, and that it brought *Wheat* to ten Shillings a Bushel.

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BESIDES that which it would afford to the Necessities of our own People, a constant Stock would constitute a Market to which the Nations in Necessity might send with a Certainty of the Supplies their Orders should be given for; and we are so much nearer the Markets in frequent Distress, than *Dantzic*, that the Orders given to that City, would be given to us, and enlarge the *Commerce* of our Kingdom.

THO' the *Dutch* send abroad for the *Corn* of their own consuming, they are never without a Stock from which they frequently furnish other Nations, and have sometimes furnish'd us with the *Corn* of our own Growth, but it is not for our Honour that should be said of a People that cannot raise Bread for their own eating.

IF the Duty upon *Salt* had not return'd, the Rental of our *Lands* would have been some *Millions* better than it is; our constant Stock of *Corn* would have been always equal to our own Consumption, and the Demands of other Nations, and the Profits in our Navigation, would have improv'd in Proportion. But

THE Return of that Duty renew'd the Neglect it had impos'd upon our *Lands* and our *Fishery*, and made them both look as if neither did belong to us, while we regarded a *Land War*, we ought to have had no Share in, as if it was no Body's Business but our own, and for the Honour done us by the Princes we fought for, in allowing that we might fight their Battles for them, we gave them annual *Subsidies* that amount to more than four Times the Money that Duty produc'd. And

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STRANGE it is, that a pitiful Duty should impose a Neglect upon our *Lands* and *Fishery*, that makes them look as if we had no other Right in them, than what may be in the Remainder of their Produce, after the Necessities of the foreign Princes are supplied by our *Money* and *Troops*; for this casts our Nation into as full an Obedience to these our new Lords, as the Tool of a *Carpenter* is to the Hand that Works with it. But

IF Reason is a Ray of the Divine Light, it cannot be resisted one Hour but to our Disadvantage, and of her we learn, that as our *Lands* and *Fishery* are of the richest of Nature's Gifts, the Duty upon *Salt* should be immediately reduced, that we may have the Benefit of those Productions they would afford, if they were assisted by the *Liberty* that Duty deprives us of. But

IF in Compliment to our *foreign Pensioners*, we must abide by the Loss of more than *twenty Millions* annually, for the Produce of one hundred and eighty Thousand Pounds that must come out of our own Pockets to the *Treasury*, like the desperate Man that is at the Expence of a *Rope* to destroy himself, we must give that Sum to destroy the *twenty Millions* that might be added to it.

NATURE provided, as if this was the fortunate Island in which she had diffus'd the greatest of her Favours, and being infinitely oblig'd to her, we may be lawfully ungrateful, but not in the Degree which appears in our Disregard to the richest of her Gifts, for that has produced the Punishments we complain of, tho' we feel nothing in them but what we have labour'd, fasted, pray'd, and given our Blood and Treasure for.

WE tamely divide our *Fishery* with the *Dutch*, and our Duty upon *Salt* is like a Surrender of the whole to them, for an *Alliance* that has been hurtful to us, and has always made a Part of that delusive Pretext which was our Leader into a *Land War* that makes a Soil our Interest cannot take Root in.

IF the Success the Troops of *France* have had over ours, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, and those of the *Hungarian Queen*, is to our Disadvantage, so far as we have suffer'd by it, the Profits of that *Trade* we have given to *France* have been us'd against us, and will be in future Jealousies, and Debates, that may arise from the Vicinity of the two Nations, and their Competition in the *Commerce*.

IN our *Plantation Trade*, the *Sugar*, which was an Article of vast Advantage to us, in Case it had extended no farther than that which was furnish'd to *France*, that Kingdom is now so far possess'd of, that it serves its self with that Commodity, and is capable of furnishing it to other *European Nations*.

SWEDEN has prohibitted some of the Commodities we serve her with; is in Possession of a Part of our *Trade* to the *East-Indies*; and, whether it is that the *Swedes* know the Worth of our *Fishery* better than it is known to us, or that they place a greater Value in the Profits it will afford, is not for me to judge, but it is known that they talk aloud of making themselves Sharers in it, and our Behaviour to the *Dutch* may invite other Nations into it.

THE King of *Prussia*, seeing the Worth of *Trade*, and chusing to be the *Father*, rather than the *Hero* of his

his People, by the Preparations he is now making, it appears he will diminish those Parts of the *Commerce*, or some of them, that are still remaining to us, for his Country abounds in Wool, and by the Encouragement that Prince offers, he may be assur'd of Hands to work it for distant Markets. And

By our War with *Spain*, it is to be fear'd, we may have made a Channel between her and *France*, for that *Trade* to run in which did run between her and us, for Goods rais'd from the *Fleece*, for the Country that does not oppress *Labour* with the *Taxes* it is oppress'd by in *England*, will carry Goods cheaper to the Markets, and those that serve the cheapest, will have the Customer.

THOSE who think *Spain* will be oblig'd to trade with us again for the vending her *Wool*, *Wines*, and *Fruits*, in our Kingdom, may be under the Mistake of our Fathers, who were made to believe *France* would be oblig'd to trade with us again, at the finishing of the War of King *William*; but Reasons may be given why this should be as great a Mistake as the other is prov'd to have been, to their Disgrace, and our great Misfortune.

WHEN these are consider'd, with the Disadvantages already mention'd, it may appear that we have nothing to leave to Posterity but an Insolvent Kingdom, under an augmenting *Debt*, and a declining *Trade*, which makes it Time that we think of a Change in our Conduct, and if none but the Prosperous can lose by Alterations, our Conduct may alter without Fear of being the worse for it, unless we change as our Fathers did,

did, who made Changes that were second Miseries to the first, as if they chang'd for nothing but Destruction to their Posterity.

IN tracing our Evils to their Origin, we shall find them all meeting in the *Land War of King William*; to that Link the rest naturally fix'd in their Turns, and must follow according to the Force by which the Chain was drawn to gratify the Ambition of one Man, under the Pretext of balancing the Powers of *Europe*, when his whole Aim was at such a Balance to his Ambition, as he might expect in a lasting Possession of the Crown of *England*.

THAT *War* was the Root from whence our *Debt* and *Taxes* sprung, and the *Interdict* it occasion'd upon our *Commerce*, with the disbanding an Army in *Flanders* which should have been disbanded at *Home*, *France* acquir'd the Art of working *Wool*, and by working it cheaper than our *Taxes* will allow of its being done with us, she possesses a *Trade* by which she casts an Awe upon the rest of *Europe*, and we plac'd that Power in her, which it was pretended that *War* would prevent, and a Yoke upon Posterity that will bring their Curse upon the *Folly* of their *Fathers*.

THESE with our pernicious *Alliances*, *Loans*, *Subsidies*, *Excises*, *Lotteries*, *Stockjobbing*, and the Ruin of *Personal Credit*, by which the Spirit and Life of our *Trade* subsisted, flow'd from that fatal Incident, and, if the Acquisitions *France* has made, should make her so awful to the *Dutch*, as that they shall find it their Prudence to ally with her in future Occasions, she may dispute

dispute our Title to the Royalty of our own *Waters*, and the whole *Fishery* be for ever lost to us.

WE have not been so unhappy in any Thing, as in an Unsensibility of our own Unhappiness, and in the pernicious Arts that have been us'd to cover our Mistakes ; for if we had been as sensible of our Necessity for a Cure, as our common Interest requir'd, we should have retir'd from the *Land War* by which our *Taxes* began to bud upon our Labour, and our *Trade* to make is Exit. But,

WHEN those wicked Arts had run their natural Length (tho' not the Length they were calculated for) our Mistakes broke out upon our Body Politic like so many Plague Sores, and prov'd as pestilential as the Evils that broke loose at the opening of the Box of *Pandora*. Yet,

IF we confine our Cares to our real Interest, and use the Means Nature still affords to its Improvement, it may give some kind of Dawning to the darkest Night, for, in the Secrets of Providence, there may be some good in reserve for us, Nature never allowing of their being lost who will co-operate with her, in Conformity with the Law of her own giving, but they who refuse to work with her, will be lost in the Track of Indolence.

THAT Fortune may favour us, Age must not come upon Opportunity, for our *Trade* has such a Proximity with our *Felicity*, that its Prosperity or Decline, slides into that Plenty or Poverty, by which *Felicity* or *Adversity* is entail'd upon us, and Opportunity seldom makes second Offers after the first are refus'd, for it will not stay where it is treated with Contempt.

OUR

OUR Country is the Party that governs in this Discourse, and he who (for any other Party) shall knowingly speak, or act against her real Interest, will be unworthy of a Being in her, for it was the Rage, Passion, and Prejudice, of the other Parties, that humbled her more effectually to her present Distress, than it could have been by the Power of a declared Enemy.

As an honest Man cannot be without a Passion for the Public, tho' he makes but a very small Part of it, I would speak for it, if none but myself and the Truth should be on its Side, for the Truth should be favour'd, even when it is against ourselves, but when it is for ourselves and against our Follies only, as in our present Case, Policy and Justice oblige us to cherish it. I hope you will allow of the Ardour that appears in one, who is resolv'd to live and die in the fullest Affection for his Country, and is equally determin'd to be in all Times,

Sir,

Your Most Humble Servant,

T. W.

P O S T S C R I P T.

IT being long since you read the first Part of this Discourse, it is my Request you will please to read it again before you read this, each rendering the other more perfect, than either can be without it.

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